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THE SERI INDIANS

By W J McGee.

INTRODUCTION

Salient Features

Something has been known of the Seri Indians (Seris, Ceris, Ceres, Heris, Tiburones) since the time of Coronado, yet they remain one of the least-studied tribes of North America. The first systematic investigation of the tribe was made in the course of expeditions by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1894 and 1895; it was far from complete.

The Seri Indians are a distinctive tribe in habits, customs, and language, inhabiting Tiburon island in Gulf of California and a limited adjacent area on the mainland of Sonora (Mexico). They call themselves *Kun-kaak* or *Kmike:* their common appellation is from the Opata, and may be translated "spry". Their habitat is arid and rugged, consisting chiefly of desert sands and naked mountain rocks, with permanent fresh water in only two or three places; it is barred from settled Sonora by a nearly impassable desert. Two centuries ago the population of the tribe was estimated at several thousands, but it has been gradually reduced by almost constant warfare to barely three hundred and fifty, of whom not more than seventy-five are adult males, or warriors.

The Seri men and women are of splendid physique; they have fine chests, with slender but sinewy limbs, though the hands and especially the feet are large; their heads, while small in relation to stature, approach the average in size; the hair is luxuriant and coarse, ranging from typical black to tawny in color, and is worn long. They are notably vigorous in movement, erect in carriage, and remarkable for fleetness and endurance.

The Seri subsist chiefly on turtles, fish, mollusks, water-fowl, and other food of the sea; they also take land game, and consume cactus fruits, mesquite beans, and a few other vegetal products of their sterile domain. Most of their food is eaten raw. They neither plant nor cultivate, and are without domestic animals, save dogs which are largely of coyote blood.

The habitations of the Seri are flimsy bowers of cactus and shrubbery, sometimes shingled rudely with turtle-shells and sponges; in some

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Juan Bautista", with "the small island San Augustín" lying before it (in such manner as to identify this islet with Isla Tasajue), and located "the large island Tiburon farther northward, opposite a mountainous coast".[1] He added:

> The waterless but cattle-stocked plains between the place Pitic and the coast, and thence up to the river Ascension, are inhabited by a meager remnant of the Seri tribe, while on Tiburon island, opposite this coast, the Tiburones dwell. The Seris were formerly very numerous, by far the fiercest of all the Indian tribes of northern Mexico, and very warlike. Through ceaseless war with the Tibaroneс and the troops from the Spanish presidios they are now nearly extinct.[2]

Elsewhere the Tiburones were characterized as enemies of the Seri,[3] while the "Heria" tribe was enumerated as a branch of the "Pimas Bajas" people. Herr Mühlenpfordt's characterization of the Seri and the Tiburon islanders as enemies would appear to be groundless, yet not wholly incomprehensible; in the first place, the earlier literature indicates that the term Seri (Seris, Ceris, Herts, etc.) was an alien designation of lax application,[4] doubtless extended occasionally or habitually to marauding nomads, regardless of affinity; again there is conclusive evidence that in many instances Seri convert-captives attached to the missions and pueblos were often regarded as tribal apostates and outlaws whose lives were forfeit; and, moreover, the region in which Herr Mühlenpfordt gained his information was and still is one of abounding tale, whose frequent exaggeration and not infrequent invention conceal and distort the simple facts.

In 1850, Don Diego Lavandera transmitted to the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics, through the hands of Señor José F. Ramirez, certain documents, accompanied by a note to the effect that "The tribe of the Seris speak Arabic, and it is understood by the Moors at the first interview"—this note merely expressing a prevailing current opinion. Undertaking to test the opinion, Señor Ramirez sent to Lavandera, in Sonora, a number of words in three Arabic dialects, at the same time asking for the Seri equivalents; and the inquiry yielded a Seri vocabulary (probably the first ever printed) of eleven words. Of these none show the slightest affinity with the Arabic dialects; at least four (horse, chamber, population, wine) express concepts alien to the Seri; and only three or four can be identified with Seri terms recorded in later vocabularies. No reference is made to Señor Lavandera's aboriginal informant; but there is a strong presumption that it was the official interpreter at Hermosillo and Pueblo Seri—a presumption

[1] "Versuch einer getreuen Schilderung der Republik Mexiko besonders in Beziehung auf Geographie, Ethnographie, und Statistik": Hannover, 1844, Band I, p. 441; Band II, p. 445. [113]

[2] Ibid., Band II, pp. 479-480.

[3] Ibid., Band, I p. 230.

[4] Pimentel defines "Seris" as the "name of a tribe of Sonora, originating probably in the Opata language" (Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las lenguas indígenas de México—Memoria sobre las Lenguas Indígenas de México, 1862, p. 225); while Pimentel defines two suggestively similar Opata words, "*Serarai*, paso mesurado y bueno", and "*Siverái*, velocidad de la persona que corre" (Vocabulario Manual de la Lengua Opata, Bol. Soc. Mex. Geog. y Estad., tomo v, 1863, p. 366), i. e., a good and direct pace, and the speed of a person running, respectively (cf. postea, p. 125). [101]

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be defined (apparently on the basis of the Tenochtlo vocabulary systematized and published by Pimentel) as a distinct linguistic family with two dialectic branches,[1] viz:

IX FAMILIA.—SÉRI.

XXXIII. *Séri*, por los séris, séris, tiburones, tepocas, salineros, en Sonora.
61. I. *Upanguaima*, por los upanguaimas, en Sonora.
62. II. *Guaima*, por los guaimas, guaymas, guayamas, cocomaques, en Sonora.

Orozco's map assigns to the Seri family an immense area (recalling Villa-Señor's "despoblado") extending from just above the mouth of the Yaqui, northward to the thirtieth parallel on the coast, stretching inland nearly to Cucurpe, Opodepe, and Ures, and including Tiburon; the "Salineros" lying adjacent to the coast in the north, the "Tepocas" medially, and the "Guaymas" in the south, within this area. In elucidating the map he wrote, under the title "El séri.—El upanguaima.—El guaima":

The Séris, a tribe inhabiting Sonora, forms, with its subtribes, a separate family. By their language, by their customs, and by their physiognomy, they are completely set apart from affiliation with the surrounding nations; and apparently they have lived in the district which they now occupy from times anterior to the establishment of the Pima race and its affines; their use of poisoned arrows recalls the Caribs of the Islands, as well as of the continent, and it seems not unlikely, although very curious, that they are related to them. The Séris, known also as Tiburones, a name derived from the island of Tiburon in the Mar de Cortés, which serves them as a shelter, considered as parts of their tribe the Tepocas and the Salineros.

The "Upanguaima" (a very small tribe occupying the Seri border) and the "Guaimas", as well as the "Cocomaques" were combined chiefly on the authority of Jesuit writers.[2] In describing the State of Sonora he further wrote:

The Séris, bounded by the sea on the west, the Pimas Altos on the north, the Opatas and the Pimas Bajos on the east, and the pueblos of Rio Yaqui on the south, form the smallest nation of Sonora, but at the same time the most cruel and deceitful and the least capable of reduction to political organization. Hardly uniting with the smaller pueblos as at Populo and Belen, the rest of the nation engaged so constantly in cruel warfare that it was necessary to persecute and exterminate them. . . . Small as was the tribe, three divisions are known: the Salineros, extending to the confines of Pimeria Alta; south of them the Tepocas, nearest to the island of Tiburon; the Guaymas and Upanguaymas occupying the territory adjacent to the harbor of the same name, afterward added to the pueblo at Belen and blended with the Indians of Rio Yaqui. Ferocious and savage, they preferred to die in war against the whites rather than adopt their usages and customs; lazy and indolent, they so surrendered themselves to the passion of intoxication that mothers conveyed aguardiente from their mouths to the smallest babes. They are tall and well formed, the women not lacking in beauty. The poison with which they envenom their arrows is proverbial for deadly effect; they compound the venomous juice from a multitude of ingredients and fortify the compound by superstitious practices.[3]

[1] Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de México, Precedidas de un Ensayo de Clasificacion de las Mismas Lenguas y de Apuntes para las Inmigraciones de las Tribus, por el Lic. Manuel Orozco y Berra; Mexico, 1864, p. 39.
[2] Ibid., p. 42.
[3] Ibid., pp. 253-254.

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TRIBAL FEATURES

Definition and Nomenclature

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According to Mashém and the clanmother known as Juana Maria, the proper name of the tribe known as Seri is *Kunkáak* (the first vowel obscure and the succeeding consonant nasalized; perhaps *Kⁿ-kiak* or *Kⁿ-kiak* would better express the sound). According to Kolusio, as rendered by M. Pinart, the Seri term for people or nation is *kom-kak*, while the Seri people are designated specifically as *Kmike*, this designation being practically equivalent phonetically (and doubtless semantically) to Sr Tenochio's general term for women, *kamykij*. Mashém was unable or unwilling to give the precise signification of the tribal appellation used by him, merely indicating Juana Maria and one or two other elderwomen squatting near as examples or types; but comparison of the elements of the term with those used in other vocables affords a fairly clear inkling as to its meaning. The syllable *kun* (or *kⁿ*, *kou*, *kom*, etc.) certainly connotes age and woman, and apparently connotes also life or living (*kun-kaie*=an old woman, McGee; *i-kom* =a wife, *ékam*=alive, Bartlett; *kikkam*=a wife, *kmam-kikamman*=a married woman, *Yak kom*=Yaqui tribe, Pinart; *kun-kabre*=an old woman, Tenochio), the forms being distinct from the word for woman (*kmamm*, McGee; *ék-e-mam*, Bartlett; *kmam*, Pinart and Tenochio) and widely different from the term for man (*kä-tämm*, McGee; *ék-e-tam*, Bartlett; *ktam*, Pinart; *tam*, Tenochio) with its several combining variants; there are also indications in numerous vocables that it connotes person or personality. On the whole, the syllable appears to be an ill-formulated or unerystallized expression, denoting at once and associatively (1) the state of living or being, (2) personality, (3) age or ancientness (or both), and (4) either femininity or maternity (much more probably the latter), this inchoate condition of the term being quite in accord with other characters of the Seri tongue, and frequently paralleled among other primitive languages. The syllable *kuak* (or *kak*, and probably *kok*, *koj*, *koick*, etc.) would seem to be a still more vague and colloidal term, despite the fact that it is used separately to designate the fire-drill. There are fairly decisive indications that it is composite, the initial portion denoting place and the final portion perhaps more vaguely connoting class or kind with an implication of excellence, both elements appearing in various vocables (too numerous to quote). On the whole, *kuak* would appear to be a typical egocentric or ethnocentric term, designating and dignifying Person, Place, Time,

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and Mode, after the manner characteristic of primitive thought;[1] so that it may perhaps be translated "Our-Great-(or Strong-)Kind-Now-Here". The combination of the two syllables affords a characteristically colloidal connotation of concepts, common enough in primitive use, but not expressible by any single term of modern language; in a descriptive way the complete term might be interpreted as "Our-Living-Ancient-Strongkind-Elderwomen-Now-Here," while with the utmost elision the interpretation could hardly be reduced beyond "Our-Great-Motherfolk-Here" without fatal loss of original signification. It should be noted that the designation is made to cover the animals of Seriland (at least the zoic tutelaries of the tribe) and fire as well as the human folk.

The proper tribe name is of no small interest as an index to primitive thought, and as an illustration of an early stage in linguistic development. It is significant, too, as an expression of the matronymic organization, and of the leading rôle played by the clanmothers in the simple legislative and judicative affairs of the tribe; and it is especially significant as an indication of the intimate association of fire and life in primitive thought.

The designation "Seri", with its several variants, is undoubtedly an alien appellation, and neither Mashém nor Kolusio could throw light on its origin or meaning, though they did not apparently regard it as opprobrious. Peñafiel describes it as an Opata term; and Pimentel's Opata vocabulary[2] (extracted from the grammar and dictionary compiled by Padre Natal Lombardo) indicates its meaning satisfactorily, albeit without special reference to the tribe. The key term in this vocabulary is "*Sirerài*, velocidad de la persona que corre." The accent over the first vowel serves to indicate prolongation, so that term and definition may be rendered, literally, *se-ererài*, speed of the person who runs. Analysis of the term shows that the essential factor or root is that introduced elsewhere in the same vocabulary as "*Ere*, llegar." Now, "llegar" is a protean and undifferentiated Spanish verb neuter, without satisfactory English equivalent; it may be interpreted as arrive, reach, attain, fetch, endure, continue, accomplish, suffice, ascend, or mount to, while as a verb active and verb reflective its equivalents are approach, join, proceed a little distance, unite, etc; it may be said to imply movement or process with a centripetal connotation—i. e., a connotation antithetic to that of the expressive irregular verb "ir" in its protean forms, including the ubiquitous and ever present "vamos" (an American slang equivalent of the Castilian verb "llegar" in certain of its phases is the strong interjectory phrase, "get together"). The prefix *se* is merely an intensive, running not merely through the Opata, but throughout various tongues of the Piman stock. In his extensive vocabulary of the Pima and Papago Indians of Arizona (1871),[3] Captain

[1] Cf. The Beginning of Mathematics, in the American Anthropologist, new series, vol. 1, 1899, p. 651.

[2] Vocabulario Manual de la Lengua Opata, por Francisco Pimentel; Boletin de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, tomo v, 1861, pp. 287–313.

[3] In the archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

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F. E. Grossmann defines the term "*se*, very, ad. (prefix)", and over a hundred and fifty of his terms illustrate the use of this adjectival or adverbial prefix as an undifferentiated yet vigorous intensive (e. g., *uf*, female or woman, *se-uf*, a lady—great or grand woman; *ó'k*, high or height, *se-ó'k*, highmost); and in the Pimentel vocabulary this signification is attested by several other terms (e. g., "*Seerai*, paso menudo y bueno"). Finally, the intervalated consonant *r* is a common participial element in the Piman, while the suffix *ái* is a habitual assertive termination, as shown by various terms in the Pimentel and other vocabularies. Dropping this termination, the expression becomes *se-erer*, or—without the nonessential participial element—*se-ere*, signifying (so far as can be ascertained from the construction of the language) "moving", or "mover", qualified by a vigorous intensive.[1] To one familiar with the strikingly light movement characteristic of the Seri—a movement far lighter than that of the professional sprinter or of the thoroughbred "collected" by a skilful equestrian, and recalling that of the antelope skimming the plain in recurrent impulses of unseen hoof-touches, or that of the alert coyote seemingly floating eerily about the slumbering camp—this appellation appears peculiarly fit; for it is the habit of the errant Seri to roam spryly and swiftly on soundless tiptoes, to come and go like fleeting shadows of passing cloudlets, and on detection to slip behind shrub or rock and into the distance so lightly as to make no audible sign or visible trail, yet so fleetly withal as to evade the hard-riding horseman. The Seri range over a region of runners: the Opata themselves are no mean racers, since, according to Velasco and Bartlett, "In twenty-four hours they have been known to run from 40 to 50 leagues";[2] and, according to Lumholtz, their collinguals, the Tarahumari, or "Counting-Runners", are named from their custom of racing,[3] and display almost incredible endurance:

> An Indian has been known to carry a letter from Guazapares to Chihuahua and back again in five days, the distance being nearly 800 miles. In some parts where the Tarahumaris serve the Mexicans they are used to run in the wild horses, driving them into the corral. It may take them two or three days to do it, sleeping at night and living on a little pinole. They bring in the horses thoroughly exhausted, while they themselves are still fresh. They will outrun any horses if you give them time enough. They will pursue deer in the snow or with dogs in the rain for days and days, until at last the animal is cornered and shot with arrows or falls an easy prey from sheer exhaustion, its hoofs dropping off.[4]

[1] The latter form (*se-ere*) corresponds precisely with the current Papago pronunciation of the term, though none of the various Papago informants consulted were able to interpret the expression; indeed, they simply relegated it to the category of "old names" which they deemed it needless to discuss. An archaic form of orthography used in the synonymy (pp. 139-139), is *Séeri*, which suggests the same sounding of the initial sibilant.

[2] From 105 to 120 miles. Bartlett, Personal Narrative, vol. i, p. 443.

[3] Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology, Chicago, 1894, p. 194. In a letter to Mr F. W. Hodge, under date of September 11, 1900, Dr Lumholtz says: "After renewed investigation I have come to another opinion regarding the meaning of the tribal name *Tarahumare*. This word is a Spanish corruption of the native name 'Rarámuri'. Though the meaning of this word is not clear, that much is certain that *rará* or *lará* means 'foot', and I therefore take it that we must be at least approximately correct when we say that the word signifies 'foot-runner'."

[4] American Anthropologist, vol. VIII, 1895, p. 82.

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The Papago, of the same region and linguistic stock, have a racing game in which a ball of wood or stone caught on the foot is thrown, followed, and thrown again until the two or more rival racers have covered 20 to 40 miles in the course of a few hours; and their feats as couriers and trailers are quite up to those of the Opata. Yet among all these tribes, and among the Mexicans as well, the Seri are known as *the* runners par excellence of the Sonoran province; and it is but natural that their astounding swiftness and lightness of foot should have brought them an appellation among contemporaries to whom these qualities peculiarly appeal.

Accordingly, both derivation and connotation give meaning to the name, and warrant the rendering (much weakened by linguistic infelicities) of "spry" or "spry-moving", used in substantive sense and with an intensive implication.

The chronicles of the tribe, especially those written during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indicate that the alien designation was applied loosely and with little appreciation of the tribal organization, just as was the case elsewhere throughout the continent. Gradually the chroniclers took cognizance of intertribal and intratribal relations, and introduced various distinctions in nomenclature expressing tribal or subtribal distinctions of greater or less importance. One of the earliest distinctions was that between the Seri and the Tepoka, and this distinction has been consistently maintained by nearly all later authorities, despite the commonly accepted fact (brought out most authoritatively by Hardy) that the tongues of the tribes are substantially alike. Another early distinction was that made between the Seri and the Guayma; it was based primarily on diversity of habitat and persistent enmity, though all the earlier authorities agreed, as well shown by Ramirez, that the tongues were essentially identical. The distinction has been maintained by most authorities and strongly emphasized by one (Pinart, as quoted by Bandelier), and since the Guayma are extinct, and hence beyond reach of direct inquiry, the early interpretation of tribal relation must be perpetuated.[1] Still another distinction was that made between the Upangnayma and the Guayma, and inferentially the Seri also; although the grounds for this distinction were not specifically stated, it seems to have grown out of diversity in habitat merely; but there were clear implications that the tribe or subtribe was affiliated linguistically with the Guayma, and thence with the Seri, and this assignment has been adopted by leading authorities, including Pimentel and Orozco. Among the earlier distinctions based on indus-

[1] In view of the clear indications, both a priori and a posteriori, that the latest Guayma survivors must have taken the language of the Pimas (Yaqui) tribesmen with whom they found refuge, and in view of his failure thus far to present his data for public consideration, M Pinart's inference that the Guayma belonged linguistically to the Piman stock can hardly be admitted to hold against the specific statements of the Jesuit missionaries and such accomplished inquirers as Ramirez and Pimentel.

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trial factors was the setting apart of the Salineros, or Seri Salineros; yet this distinction, fortuitous and variable at the best, expressed no essential character and has not been maintained. A much later distinction was that between the Seri and Tiburones, emphasized by Mühlenpfordt and exaggerated by Buschmann; but there seem to have been no better grounds for it than misapprehensions naturally attending a slowly crystallizing nomenclature. In any event it has not been maintained.

At several stages the chroniclers coupled the Seri with other tribes, on various grounds: in the eighteenth century they were thus combined with the Pima, the Piato, and especially the Apache tribes. In the earlier half of the nineteenth century they were frequently coupled in similar fashion with the Pima and Apache tribes, and in the later half of the nineteenth century, and even in its last lustrum, they have been similarly combined with the Yaqui. The later combinations seem to explain the earlier: the Yaqui outbreaks withdraw portions of the arm bearing population from the Seri frontier, and the marauders take advantage of the withdrawal so regularly that a Yaqui scare is invariably followed by a Seri scare, and hence the two warlike tribes are constantly associated in the minds of the Sonorenses as synchronous insurrectionists; and scrutiny of the earlier chronicles indicates that most of the so-called combinations of former times were of similar sort.

On putting the chronicles together, it seems clear that the term "Seri" was originally of lax application, but was gradually restricted to the tribe inhabiting Tiburon and ranging adjacent territory, including the collingual but inimical Guayma and Upanguayma, and also the collingual and cotolerant Tepoka; and that the various Piman tribes, as well as the Apache, were always distinct, and commonly if not invariably inimical.

The ethnic relations of the Seri people attracted early and repeated attention. Humboldt gave currency, albeit not unquestioningly, to a supposed Chinese or related Oriental affiliation; Hardy noted the similarity of the Seri tongue to that of the Patagonians; Lavandera classed the language as Arabic; Stone and Bancroft circulated a supposed identification of the speech with the Welsh; Ramirez, and more especially Pimentel, narrowed the field of affiliation to Mexico and defined the tongue as distinct; Orozco y Berra, and more especially Malte-Brun, slightly reextended the field and suggested affiliation with the Caribs; while Herzog, Gatschet, and Brinton reextended the field in another direction and saw, in a vocabulary obtained from a Seri scion but alien thinker, similarities between the Serian and Yuman tongues. The recent researches tend strongly to corroborate the evidence collected and the conclusions reached by Ramirez and Pimentel; for the somewhat extended comparisons between the Serian and neighboring languages (introduced and discussed in other paragraphs) indicate that the

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Seri tongue is distinct save for two or three Cochimi or other Yuman elements, which may be loan words such as might readily have been obtained through the largely inimical interchange of earlier centuries described by Padre Juan Maria de Sonora and other pioneer observers—certainly the slight and superficial similarities with other tongues of the region seem insufficient to meet the classific requirement of supposititious descent from "a common ancestral speech".[1] Accordingly the group may be defined (at least provisionally) as a linguistic family or stock, and may be distinguished by the family name long ago applied by Pimentel and Orozco, with the termination prescribed in Powell's fifth rule,[2] viz, *Serian*. Conformably, the classification of the group would become—

Serian stock, comprising—

- Seri tribe, including Tiburones and (certain) Salineros;
- Tepoka tribe;
- Guayma tribe;
- Upanguayma tribe.

Naturally this classification is provisional in certain respects. It is little more than tentative in so far as the Tepoka are concerned, since no word of the Tepoka tongue has ever been recorded, so far as is known, and since the tribe is still extant and within reach of research; it must be held provisional also in respect to the separateness of the stock, which may be found in the future to be affiliated with neighboring stocks, though the effect of the more recent and more critical researches in eliminating supposed evidences of affiliation points in the opposite direction. The arrangement is in some measure provisional also with respect to the relations between the long-extinct Guayma and Upanguayma and the type tribe, especially since contrary suggestion has been offered in terms implying the existence of unpublished data; yet the presumption in favor of the critical work by Ramirez, Pimentel, and Orozco is so strong that practically this feature of the classification may be deemed final.

No attempt has been made to render the tribal synonymy exhaustive, though search of the records has incidentally brought out the more important synonyms, as follows:

Seri Tribe

CERES—1826; Hardy, Travels, p. 95.
CERI—1875; Pimentel, Lenguas Indígenas, tomo II, p. 229.
CERIS—1745; Villa-Señor, Theatro Americano, p. 391.
CERIS TEPOCAS—1760; Velasco, Noticias Estadísticas, p. 132.
HERI—1854; Buschmann, Die Spuren der aztekischen Sprache, p. 221.
HERIS—1645; Ribas, Triumphos de Nuestra Santa Fee, p. 358.
IRITUSES—1730 (?); Van der Aa, map.

[1] Indian linguistic families, by J. W. Powell, in Seventh Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, 1885-'86 (1891), p. 11.
[2] Ibid., p. 98.

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Sadi—1806; San Francisco Chronicle, January 24.
Se-ehe—Etymologic form.
Seres—1844; Mühlenpfordt, Republik Mejico, Band I, p. 210.
Seri—1751; [Ortega], Apostolicos Afanes, p. 344.
Seris—1694; Mange, Roumen de Noticias (Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, série 4, tome I, p. 255).
Seri Salineros—1842; Alegre, Historia de la Compañia de Jesus, tome III, p. 117.
Seris Salineros—1694; Mange, Roumen de Noticias (Documentos, série 4, tome I, p. 321).
Serys—1751; [Ortega], Apostolicos Afanes, p. 307.
Soris—1900; Deniker, The Races of Man, p. 533.
Sseri—1903; Gatschet, Der Yuma Sprachstamm, p. 129.
Zeris—1731; Dominguez, Diario (MS.).
Kaike—1879; Pinart, MS. vocabulary.
Kómkak—1879; Pinart, MS. vocabulary.
Kunkaak—1898; Mercer and Johnson, "Seriland", Nat. Geog. Mag., vol. VII, p. 123.
Salineros—1727; Rivera, Diario y Derrotero, I. 514–1519.
Tiburon—1790; Cortez (Pacific Railroad Reports, vol. III, p. 127).
Tiburones—1792; Arricivita, Cronica Seráfica, segunda parte, p. 426.
Tiburon Ceres—1826; Hardy, Travels, p. 290.

Tepoka Tribe

Tepeco—1847; Disturnell, Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Mejico, New York.
Tepoca—1748; Villa-Señor, Theatro Americano, p. 392.
Tepoca Ceres—1826; Hardy, Travels, p. 290.
Tepocas—1748; Villa-Señor, Theatro Americano, p. 391.
Tepococ—1895; Velasco, Bol. Soc. Mex. Geog. y Estad., tomo XI, p. 125.
Tepoka—Phonetic form.
Tepopa—1875; Dewey, map.
Tepoques—1757; Venegas, Noticia, tome II, p. 343.
Topokis—1702; Kino, map (in Stocklein, Der Neue Welt-Bott).
Topoquis—1701; Kino, map (in Bancroft, Works, vol. XVII, 1883, p. 360).

Guaymas Tribe

Baymas—1754; [Ortega], Apostolicos Afanes, p. 377.
Gayama—1826 (?); Pike (Balbi), (in Pimentel, Lenguas Indigenas, tomo II, p. 234).
Guaima—1901; Buckingham Smith, Heve Grammar, p. 7.
Guaimas—1702; Kino, map (in Stocklein, Der Neue Welt-Bott).
Guayamas—1757; Venegas, Noticias, tome II, p. 79.
Guayma—1701; Juan Maria de Salvatierra, Report (Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, série 4, tome V, p. 154).
Guaymas—1730; Juan Maria de Salvatierra, Report (Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, série 4, tome V, p. 126).
Guaymi—1882; Bancroft Works, vol. III, (Native Races, vol. III), p. 704.
Guaymis—1844; Mühlenpfordt, Republik Mejico, Band I, p. 210.
Guymas—1748; Villa-Señor, Theatro Americano, p. 401.
Gueymas—1748; Villa-Señor, Theatro Americano, p. 402.
Guiamas—1765; [Neutwig?], Ruolo Ensayo, p. 229.
Guimies (?)—1701; Kino, map (Bancroft, Works, vol. XVII, 1883, p. 360).

Upanguayma Tribe

Houpin Guaymas—1929; Hardy, map.
Jumpanguaymas—1863; Velasco, Bol. Soc. Mex. Geog. y Estad., tomo VIII, p. 282.
Jupanguaymas—1748; Villa-Señor, Theatro Americano, p. 401.

I: McGee E-5 (1894-1895)1898 NU31 Seri NU31

101 UPAN GUAIMAS—1768; [Kenitwig?], Rudo Ensayo, p. 229.
UPANGUAIMA—1864; Orozco y Berra, Geografía de las Lenguas, p. 42.
175 UPANGUAIMAS—1878; Malte-Brun, Congrès International des Américanistes, tome II, p. 38.
UPANGUAYMA—Synthetic form.
UPANGUAYMAS—1882; Bancroft, Works (Native Races, vol. I, p. 605).
UPAN-GUAYMAS—1890; Bandelier, Investigations in the Southwest, p. 75.

Possibly the name *Cocomaques* (1864, Orozco y Berra, Geografía de las Lenguas, p. 42), or *Cocomaques* (1727, Rivera, Diario y Derrotero, I. 1514-1519) should be introduced among the synonyms of the Seri, but in the absence of definite information it may perhaps better be left unassigned.[1]

101 Of the four tribes assigned to the stock, the Upanguayma have been extinct probably for more than a century; the Guayma may survive in
197 a few representatives probably of mixed blood and adopted language; the Tepoka have never received systematic investigation, but appear to survive in limited numbers on the eastern coast of Gulf of California about the embouchure of the Rio Ignacio sand-wash; while the Seri alone continue to form a prominent factor in Sonoran thought.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

131 The most conspicuous characteristic of the Seri tribe as a whole is
648 isolation. The geographic position and physical features of their habitat favor, and indeed measurably compel, isolation: their little principality is protected on one side by stormy seas and on the other by still more forbidding deserts; their home is too hard and poor to tempt conquest, and their possessions too meager to invite spoliation; hence, under customary conditions, they never see neighbors save in chance encounters on their frontier or in their own predatory forays—and in either case the encounters are commonly inimical. The natural isola-
[186] tion of the habitat is reflected in modes of life and habits of thought; and during the ages the physical isolation has come to be reflected in a bitter and implacable hereditary enmity toward aliens—an enmity apparently forming the strongest motive in their life and thought, and indeed grown into a persistent instinct. Thus the Seri stand alone in every respect; they are isolated in habitat and still more intensely isolated in habits of thought and life from all contemporaries; they far out-Ishmael the Ishmael of old on Araby's deserts.

648 The isolation of the Seri in thought and feeling is well illustrated by the relations with their nearest neighbors (activitally as well as geographically), the Papago Indians. The Papago are much esteemed
[115] in Sonora as fearless fighters, always ready to join or even to lead a forlorn hope; yet when the expedition of 1895 was projected it was found no easy matter to induce the picked Papago guards quartered at Costa Rica to enter Seriland. They were ready, indeed mildly eager, for fray, provided it were on the frontier; but they held back in dread

[1] These names seem rather to be Yuman, cf. Cocopa, Cocomaricopa, Kohuan, etc.

I: McGee E-5 (1896-1897)1898 NU): Seri NU31

the tribe is prolific and well-fitted to survive unless cut off in consequence of the hereditary antipathy toward alien blood and culture. 161

The population estimates of the past are naturally vague. In 1645 Ribas spoke of the tribe as "a great people"; and a century later Villa-Señor expressed himself in somewhat similar terms, and described their range in such manner as to indicate a population running into thousands. A few years after Villa-Señor (in 1750), Parilla claimed to have annihilated the entire tribe, with the exception of 28 captives; but according to Velasco's estimates, the people numbered fully 2,000 some thirty years later, when the tribe was, however, once more nominally annihilated. In 1824 Troncoso estimated the Seri at over 1,000, and two years later Rétio reckoned the population of Isla Tiburon alone at 1,000 or 1,500, while Hardy thought the entire tribe might number 3,000 or 4,000 at the utmost. About 1841 De Mofras put the aggregate population at 1,500; and at the time of the vigorous invasion by Andrade and Espence (1844), when a considerable number of the tribe were captured and a few slain, the total population was estimated at about 550—though it is probable that a good many tribesmen were left out of the reckoning. According to the chroniclers, a number of the Seri were slain after, as well as before, this invasion; and in 1846 Velasco estimated the tribe at less than 500, including 60 or 80 warriors. This estimate was in harmony with that made by Señor Encinas, who reckoned the tribe at 500 or 600 at the beginning of his war, in which half the tribe lost their lives. The figures of Velasco and Encinas correspond fairly with the reckoning by Mashém in 1894, due allowance being made for natural increase and for the losses through occasional skirmishes; and Mashém's count is shown not to be excessive by the considerable number of jacales and rancherías and well-trodden pathways found throughout Seriland in 1895. 161 175

On the whole it seems probable that the Seri population extended well into the thousands at the time of the Caucasian invasion; it seems probable, also, that the body was then too large for stability under its feeble institutional bonds, and hence threw off by fission the Guaymas and Upanguaymas fractions, and the Angeles, Populo, and Pueblo Seri fragments. Furthermore, it seems probable that the prolific group fairly held its own against these normal losses and repeated decimations by battle up to the Miguelete-Cimarrones war of 1780, despite the vaunted annihilation in 1750; but that thenceforward the death-rate due to increasingly frequent encounters with incoming settlers exceeded the birth-rate, gradually reducing the tribe from some 2,000 to the 250 or 300 surviving the Encinas conflict. Finally, it seems probable that the tribe has again held its own and perhaps increased slowly under the renewed isolation of the last decade or two. [101]

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930)1931 NU31 Seri NU31

Davis has had fuller opportunity to investigate, but confined my attention to the social and religious sides of their life. There was the more reason for this since it is in dealing with these latter aspects, where verbal communications are as important as observation, that McGee's monograph is most tenuous and dubious. I also secured linguistic notes for the preliminary placing of the curious tonal speech of the Seri.

Seri culture in its present form is a fragmentary thing such as could hardly have existed under purely native conditions. Religion especially has suffered, no doubt under Christian influence, without many elements of Christianity having been taken over in exchange. Of mythology, only tatters seem to remain; of ritual, little more; only shamanism seems to be fairly well preserved. Nor, beyond the Spanish names for God and the cross, do the Seri give evidence of being or having been Catholics. The result is that they seem remarkably religionless. I do not know of a native people that appears so free from superstition and so unspiritual in its attitudes. Possibly I conferred with the wrong informants; but those I talked with seemed unsecretive. Social culture is better preserved, as is evident from a set of kinship terms that are numerous, precise, and untouched by Spanish concepts. On the other hand, there is little formal social organization. Whether this is also the result of a loss, is hard to say. The Seri may never have had sibs or clans; but the fact that they appear to lack them now is no positive evidence that they were without them three centuries ago. Shifts of residence, contraction of territory, shrinkage of numbers, amalgamation of distinct bands, may well have obliterated much of such social fabric as they once possessed. Games and the calendar are wholly native and intact, but taboos connected with sex, age, food, and the like seem fewer than among the backward tribes of the southwestern United States. It seems reasonable to construe this condition as the result of varyingly hostile, parasitic, and missionizing Spanish-Mexican contacts; especially when one realizes how overwhelmingly, though also spottily, this influence has affected the other tribes of Sonora—the Yaqui, Mayo, Pima, and Opata.

Historically the Seri are not a tribe but the consolidated remnant of a series of dialectically distinct tribes that once held the barren coast of Sonora from Guaymas to Puerto Libertad. Tiburon Island is the stronghold in which the mixed survivors, probably now numbering less than 200, have taken refuge, and, owing to its inaccessibility, drought, and poverty, have succeeded in maintaining themselves and their blended and reduced culture. Toward the interior, it is doubtful if they ranged beyond the present line of the Southern Pacific railroad, if that far. Orozco y Berra indeed assigns them territory up the Sonora River to Ures, on his famous map, which is still basic to all other ethnic maps of Mexico. But from Hermosillo

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

to Ures is good farming country, and why the only non-agricultural people in Sonora should have held this stretch, is hard to see. Moreover, Orozco's bringing the Serian tribes so far inland as to abut on the Opata, severs the continuity of the American Pima Alto and Papago with the Mexican Pima Bajo, whose speech is almost identical. This identity is best understood as the reflection of a continuous occupation by the Pima of the whole foothill country from the Gila to the Mayo, between the Serian desert lowlanders and the Opata in their mountain valleys, with the Yaqui, Mayo, and other Cahita peoples replacing the Serians south of Guaymas where heavier rainfall and large flowing rivers made the lowlands attractive to farming peoples. The natural inland frontier of the Seri along the Sonora River would have been at the Siete Cerros, a low range some 25 miles, more or less, west of Hermosillo, where grass ends and creosote bush and giant sahuaro cactus soon become dominant beside mesquite. This boundary would have put the farmers on farm land, the roving gatherers into the succulently overgrown desert and along the food-stocked coast.

The Seri, then, in the wider sense, including the Guaymas, Tepocas, etc., were anomalous among the native peoples of Sonora in habitat as well as in culture. Now a similar country, almost waterless and cactus dominated, is the central segment of Mexican California. Here lived the Cochimi, dialectically the most divergent of the Yuman peoples, and with a culture similar to that of the Seri at least in its level. The habitat enforced a similar subsistence economy, unsettled living, scattering of population, inability of serious accumulation of property, and hence no doubt a relative paucity of most organizational aspects of culture. Whether the content of Cochimi culture was equally similar is difficult to say because of the melting away of the people. At any rate the question arises whether Cochimi and Seri are not historically connected, especially as both their languages are related to Yuman, whereas all other Sonora tribes are Uto-Aztecans. The connection seems the more possible in that southwest of Tiburon lies San Esteban Island; beyond that, San Lorenzo; and beyond, the great peninsula. The open-water distance nowhere exceeds fifteen miles. This is a difficult but not impossible gap to cross on cane rafts; and the Seri have skilful knowledge of currents and winds. The passage across the Infiernillo between mainland and Tiburon is little more than a mile at the narrowest point, but they often paddle five in their open boats to take advantage of weather conditions. The Seri remember navigating to San Esteban, and there is historical mention of crossings of the Gulf.

The final evidence for or against derivation of the Seri from Baja California will probably be linguistic, and if, as seems possible though doubtful, Cochimi speech can still be recorded in the peninsula, the answer may be definitive. The materials at present available

2: Kroeber E-5 (1930) 1931 NU31 Seri NU31

SERIAN TERRITORY AND TRIBES

The close speech unity of the Seri, Tepoca, Salineros, Guaymas, and Upanguaymas is affirmed by all the older authors. The name Seri has however been used in several senses, even in pre-ethnologic days: (1), for the entire group of related tribes, sometimes excluding and sometimes including the Guaymas; (2), for the inhabitants of Tiburon Island and the immediately opposite stretch of mainland; (3), for the inlanders more or less associated with the mission establishments from Hermosillo upstream, in contrast with the "Tiburones" of the island; (4), for the modern fusion of mainlanders and islanders, which evidently includes descendants of all Serian tribes except the Guaymas and Upanguaymas, who became absorbed in the lowermost Yaqui tribe or village of Belem. It is in this fourth and last sense that I use the term; my principal informant, in the tradition given, employed the third meaning; McGee mostly the second, with a strong implication of the thorough apartness and greater primitiveness of the islanders, as compared with their ethnic kinsmen.

The Tastioteños of my informant appear not to be known otherwise. The coastwise alignment of tribes from south to north seems to have been: Guaymas, Upanguaymas, Tastioteño, Seri or Tiburones, Tepoca, Salinero.

As already mentioned in the Introduction, it seems inherently unlikely that Serian territory extended as far up the Sonora river as Ures, near which Orozco y Berra puts the boundary. His undue extension is probably due to the fact that the missions to which Serians (other than Guaymas-Upanguaymas) became attached, were situated in the valley of the Opodepe or Horcasitas branch of the Sonora. According to McGee[19] these Missions were: Santa Magdalena de Tepoca, founded in 1688, soon abandoned, location long lost but probably up-stream from next; Nacameri, 7 leagues below Opodepe; Nuestra Señora del Pópulo, 9 leagues down, at Horcasitas; Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, 3-4 leagues down, maintained, with preceding, until 1767; Pitic or Pueblo de los Seris, more than 12 leagues down (opposite Hermosillo), founded last, in 1742. Nacameri and Pitic sound like Pima, not Seri, words. Whether the river valleys from Hermosillo up were actually Pima territory, as here surmised, will have to be established from documentary sources, possibly supplemented by recollections of the Pima surviving about Ures. It is conceivable that Serian tribes had driven the Pima out of the Sonora valley shortly before the founding of the missions, thus effectuating the division into Pima Bajos and Altos; or that the Pima shrinkage out of the middle of their territory began after their mis-

[19] Pp. 68, 69, 70, 72.

8: Ascher E-5 (1960) 1962 NU31 Seri NU31

Elsewhere (Ascher 1961) I have disputed this portrayal of the potential of existing ethnography, citing examples where qualitative and quantitative models have been constructed from ethnography and suggesting that one task for archeology is to codify the literature in a manner useful to itself. Regardless of doubts about existing ethnographies for archeological purposes, the worth of future ethnography for archeology will depend on the acquisition of the relevant kinds of information. Although discussion on the subject has been recorded (Tax *et al.* 1953: 229-232), no specific guides have been produced. This paper provides and discusses an example, which can be used as a paradigm, model, or guide of the kind of information to be collected from ongoing communities which would be of general value for archeology. The subject culture is that of the Seri Indians of Sonora, Mexico; the example describes a persistent trait complex associated with fishing for the Pacific green turtle, with particular emphasis on one trait in the complex, the harpoon foreshaft.

Example from the Seri Indians

The Seri, who numbered approximately 200 individuals in 1960, occupy a band of coastal desert about four miles wide and seventy miles long in the state of Sonora in western Mexico. The band extends along the Gulf of California from Kino Bay in the south to Desemboque in the north, opposite the largest island in the Gulf, Tiburon. Although the region is desert, with an estimated average rainfall of less than eight inches per year, falling mostly in July and August, it is comparatively rich in succulents and small land mammals. The Gulf forms a natural trap for large fish and marine mammals and is a breeding ground for the Pacific green turtle. The scantiness of fresh water has constituted, in the past and present alike, the single crucial limiting factor to agriculture and human occupancy.

In the past the Seri may have comprised from four to six tribal groups, and they were certainly numerically larger, with a maximum estimated population of 2,000 (Kroeber 1931: 53, 30). Until very recently they also occupied Tiburon Island, and at some more remote period they extended south, north, and east over a territory whose bounds are uncertain (Kroeber 1931: 5). On the basis of linguistic change, Kroeber (1931: 54) calculated that the Seri could have inhabited this general region for 1,000 years. It is uncertain whether the original occupation stemmed from Baja California via the Gulf of California or from the north and west via an overland route or routes (Kroeber 1931: 39-51). The first contact with Europeans occurred as early as 1540 (McGee 1898: 51).

In culture content the Seri are most closely affiliated with the Pima (Kroeber 1931: 51), but they do not share the practice of agriculture with them or with their western neighbors. The Seri are primarily fishermen; secondarily they gather the fruits of succulents; and to a still lesser extent they hunt game. McGee (1898: 214)

BrMalkin E-5 (1953-1955)1962 NU31 Seri NU31

OUTLINE OF SERI CULTURE

Territory

Historically the Seri territory at its greatest expansion extended from the coast of Mar del Cortez to Hermosillo and from Porto Libertad to Guaymas and included also the Tiburon Island. Ethnically, the Seris represented a collection of dialectically distinct tribes, the Guyma, Tepoca, etc., perpetually at war with each other, whose common characteristic was their culture, and who were framed in to the north by the Pima Alto and Papago, to the west by the now extinct Cochimi, to the east by the Opata and Pima Bajo and to the south by the Cahita, Mayo and the Yaqui.

But their area had fluctuated much. After the bitter and disastrous wars against the Mexicans from the late 18th century through most of the 19th, the Seris lost out and were forced by the Mexican government to settle on Tiburon. This incarceration did not last long. McGee had already in 1894 found them on the mainland and Kroeber found them equally divided between Tiburon and Kino. In 1930 when he visited, evidently they lived largely in Kino Bay. As the Mexicans pressed on Kino moving in, in ever greater numbers, and as Japanese fisheries worked the Gulf out of Desemboque attracting the fish-loving Seris, their main settlement has moved once more. About 1940 most of the Seris moved into Desemboque and at the time of my visit, almost all of them lived there while only two families made Tiburon their "permanent" camp. School and availability of the medical facilities as well as the location of the Mexican traders in Desemboque, part of whose scheme the Indians have become, attracted the Seris. Only occasionally today they roam inland or visit other areas, either owing to the hunting or fishing expeditions.

Numbers

Seri numbers fluctuated as much as their territory and had suffered immense diminution. I shall list the estimates below, indicating the source of the information:

	Authority		Source
1780	Velasco	2,000	McGee
1824	Troncoso	1,000+	"
1826	Ratio (Tiburon only)	1,000-1,500	"
1826	Hardy	3,000-4,000	"
1841	de Mofras	1,500	"
1844	...	550	"
1846	Velasco	500	"
c.1855	Encinas	500-600	"
c.1945	"	250-300	"
1924	Mashem, native	250-350	"
1930	Thomson	175	Kroeber
1934	Mex. En. Cifras	160	Ethn. Synth. Mex.
1943	Smith, Jr.	248	MS. Univ. of Ariz.
1955	Malkin	236	Malkin

11: Moser L-5 (1956-1961) 1963
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SERI BANDS

EDWARD MOSER

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ABSTRACT

In previous publications on the Seri, frequent reference to distinct Seri groups points to historical tribal divisions at some level. Recent research among the Seri has determined the former existence of six bands which included three dialect groups. Three of the bands were subdivided into clans. These six bands, whose formation may have been caused largely by internal struggles, were eventually crushed and reduced to a single group by the devastation brought about by external conflict.

INTRODUCTION

The Seri tribe is located in Mexico along the coast of Sonora between Bahia Kino and Puerto Libertad, and on Tiburon Island (Fig. 1). Today it consists of approximately two hundred and eighty persons who call themselves *kongkaak*[1] "the people." Although at one time it was comprised of six distinct bands (Fig. 2), the tribe has now lost its band organization. However, much of the late history of these now-defunct tribal units remains vivid in the minds of the Seri. The purpose of this paper is to present some of the salient features of these former bands, to discuss certain interrelations between them, and to recount the Seri version of the disintegration of the band system.[2]

Three published studies on the Seri should be mentioned.[3] Of these, the reports by Kroeber and by Griffen are the more reliable. All three investigators mention tribal divisions which Griffen rightly designates as bands.

BANDS

BAND I *xika ʔai kkoii* "they who live toward the true wind"

This group is commonly referred to in the literature as the Tepoca or Salinero. As shown on Fig. 1, they inhabited an area which extended from a point slightly north of Puerto Lobos to Punta Tepopa on the south. The territory extended inland, encompassing the general area delimited by the San Ignacio River.

642 BAND II *xika xnai kkoii* "they who live toward the south wind"
● 101 This group is commonly referred to as the Tastioteño. These
131 people roamed the coastal area from Guaymas to Bahia Kino.

BAND III *ta?eoiokw kongkaak* "the people of Tiburon Island"

This band is referred to in the literature as the Seri or Tiburones. At one time their territory included only the northern and eastern coasts of Tiburon Island. Later it was extended to include the whole coastal strip of the mainland directly opposite the island.

BAND IV *?eno kongkaak* "the people of the desert"

The area this band occupied in the center of Tiburon Island is shown in Fig. 2.

642 BAND V *xnaamotat* "they who came from the direction of the
131 south wind"
173 The Seri believe that this band came originally from a region
628 south of Guaymas. It may have been the Upanguayma group
[101] mentioned in the literature. Its members came in contact with the members of Band II with whom they resided, apparently for a period of years. Whether the *xnaamotat* were Seri or non-Seri,
[197] I have been unable to ascertain. Since no informant suggests that this group spoke another language besides Seri, it seems reasonable to believe that it was simply a distinct dialect group.

642 The *xnaamotat* were a belligerent people and, after fighting
628 broke out between them and the members of Band II, they
721 traveled northward. Eventually they established themselves on
[131] the relatively small coastal strip located east of Punta Tepopa as shown in Fig. 2.

642 BAND VI *xika ?ast ano koii* "they who live in the mountains"

[101] This group, which has been recognized previously only by
[131] Griffen, inhabited San Esteban Island. It laid claim also to the greater part of the coast on the southern end of Tiburon Island. One informant stated that in earlier times this band had ranged over all of Tiburon Island except for the northern two-thirds of the eastern coast, but that they were slowly pushed southward by the movements of other groups.

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Dialect 3 was spoken by Band VI. This dialect, which is also extinct, is described by the informants as musical and is referred to as "singing talk." Expressions which are recalled are characterized by sharp pitch contours and heavy stress. Several grammatical constructions from this dialect have been found to contain morphemes unknown to present-day speakers.

The elicitable utterances and expressions of dialects 2 and 3 appear to employ the same segmental phonemes as present-day Seri.

BAND SUBDIVISIONS

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Three of the six bands were subdivided. The territorial subdivisions of those three, Bands I, III, and VI are shown on Figs. 3-5.

Band I

Band I became divided into six groups, each group occupying a subdivision of the band territory. Each such subdivision was called an *i?iziitng*. The name of the most prominent camp in each *i?iziitng* was generally used also as the name of that subdivision. The names of these subdivisions are;[4]

xaah ?akaila	"(arrows) shot at the cliff"
paiik ?aokwt	"driftwood huts"
xpano ?ax	"fresh water in the sea"
?aasixp	"white mesquite"
?axwoli?om	"place of clams"
xapoya?	"sea lion . . ."

Band III

This band became subdivided into fifteen groups, named as follows;

?ah?ax	"whichever water"
kiaxin	"long and narrow"
sakpatix	"_____"
?aank	"clam (species of)"
?atkisa	"rotten testicle"
taih it	"willow trunk"
inoo?kw kixax	"rattling stone bay"
xnitzk	"facing the wind"
takata	"_____"
?eeme	"camp"
?ast ?ax	"stone point (of arrow)"
sosnitaa	"in front of Alcatraz Island"
xoxaokl	"the large ones"
kail iti ktamkw	"men of the dry lake bed"
?ax ipak	"the other side of the water"

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Little information could be elicited about subdivisions 7, 8, 9, and 10. The reason for this might be that Band VI was slow in abandoning those coastal areas (if it actually did inhabit them) as it was being displaced by Bands III and IV.

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The Seri say that long ago several men, called *?ant i?akimhoh* "they who explain the land," came to Tiburon Island and told the people along the eastern shore that they owned also a corresponding strip of land on the mainland. Thus the inhabitants of subdivisions 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 laid claim to the coastal areas directly across the channel from them as shown by the dotted lines on Fig. 4. They assumed that their new territories extended inland to include as much terrain as they chose to claim. At first the people went to their mainland areas primarily to gather cactus fruit. Eventually some of them remained on the mainland and established subdivisions 11 and 12. This establishment superseded the claims of the five Tiburon Island subdivisions to their mainland territories. Although the mainland subdivisions 11 and 12 formed, in some respects, a separate band in their own right, they retained their name, *ta?eowkiw kongkaak* "the people of Tiburon Island." Eventually this group returned to Tiburon.

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Of subdivisions 13 and 14 which are shown on Fig. 4, very little is known. The people of subdivision 13 inhabited an area encompassing the northern end of the dry lake, La Playa Noriega (San Bartolo). Some of the Seri believe that these people were giants. Although in this area I have found clay figurines and other artifacts common to abandoned camps elsewhere, the Seri do not know the names of the camps of this subdivision. Subdivision 14 occupied the area surrounding the southern end of the same dry lake.

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Subdivision 15 occupied the general area which is now Villa de Seris, a settlement on the southern edge of Hermosillo. As Hermosillo grew, it became increasingly difficult for these Seri to maintain their customary way of life, and they eventually returned to Tiburon Island.

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BAND VI

Band VI became divided into four subdivisions, the names of which are:

xnitom	"_____"
pahii	"flint"
kofte okl ifa	"large iguana peninsula"
kotih	"tubular"